7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his walls of running fertility to control and increase them. From below you gaze up words at limestone: from above you look down on an archetype of weakness: the rosy hues of the fresh raised features, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the parkwings, grey and barren, of layers of limestone cast up an end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their stable land in the central range.

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Mahaidseneen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Thoumin, 1941, p. 465.)

461 554 434 4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 7.)

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself goes each week for one of the [illegible] very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 511 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Some walls and fields close to town serve 515 certain commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 3,643 people in the project area there are 80 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 603 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 514 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nauriyah have two mosques each, while in each

124

The family income of Beirutis was of major interest to the survey. Tables are presented showing these sources of income by category. The amount of savings and investments are included in the chapter. Finally, there is material on the attitude of Beirutis toward their economic status. As was expected, respondent resistance was greatest on the question of income. The greatest resistance was on the part of the middle and upper classes. The best interviewers at the disposal of the survey were sent to follow-up respondents who refused information. Eighty-one out of one hundred and twenty-eight original refusals were reclaimed. An additional ten refused economic information only. Five unsuccessful interviews were due to the absence of the potential respondent at every interviewing attempt. Twelve refused to answer because of lack of identification with Beirut.

It is quite evident that after the eighty-one initial refusals were redeemed there was little or no economic bias in the interviews refused. At any rate, the refusals amounted to only two percent plus one half of one percent who answered all but the economic questions.

8.1 Rate of pay per month for those on salary, Table 114

134

The amount of pay received by employees per month is estimated at 5,307,000 L.L. earned by an estimated 20,484 heads of households in all Beirut or a mean of 259 L.L. The crude mode, however, is 125 L.L. In the sample the amount of unemployment is ten percent or 2120 heads of families.

p. 23(B)

8.2 Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 115, 116

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.25 %) of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (33 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are [457] the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or an estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

8.3 Total income. Table 117

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1001 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 5000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434 565 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 5001 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (31 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 5000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

434 5001 - 25,000 L.L. receive forty-three percent of
565 the income and those four percent which make over 25,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

434 The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 349,082,286 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6792 L.L. or 1179 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various census districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all census districts except Ain el Mreisseh which has a higher average.

8.4 **Amount of savings in year previous to interview, Table 118**

454 Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2841 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (84 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,752,000 L.L.

p. 24(A)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

8.5 Investment of savings. Table 119

454

An attempt was made to investigate in what form savings were invested. Unfortunately about half of the investments fell into our miscellaneous category. The largest three specific categories were in order: tangible miscellaneous assets (13 %), bank notes (12 %), and real estate (11 %). The figures are highly unreliable statistically and are presented for whatever interest they may have for future research.

8.6 Attitudes toward improvement in economic status. Tables 120, 121 and 122

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Relatively few of those interviewed (13 %) felt that there had been an improvement in their economic status compared to the previous year. On the other hand, it is not known how many felt that their status had deteriorated inasmuch as this question was not asked.

A substantially larger number (18 %) felt that their economic status had improved since five years before, and an even larger percentage (21 %) felt an improvement over conditions ten years before.

13; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 114

Rate of Pay Per Month for Those on Salary

Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	763	100.00
0 — 25	6	0.79
26 — 50	17	2.23
51 — 75	33	4.33
76 — 100	68	8.91
101 — 150	133	17.43
151 — 200	96	12.58
201 — 300	148	19.40
301 — 400	63	8.26
401 — 500	40	5.24
501 — 750	36	4.72
751 — 1000	22	2.88
1001 — 2000	20	2.62
2001 — 3000	2	0.26
Over 3000	—	—
None	79	10.35

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 10.880$
$v = .042$

Table 115

Incidence of Money from Any Source Other than Employment in Year Previous to Interview

Response	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1892	100.00	
Yes	421	22.25	.009
No	1471	77.75	.009

p. 57 (a)

434
457

Table 116

Source of Income Other than Work

Source	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	421	100.00	
Overseas	47	11.16	.015
Rental of rooms in own home	16	3.80	
Rent of property owned	138	32.78	.023
Relative	78	18.53	.019
Pension	6	1.42	
Debt return	1	0.24	
Others	130	30.88	.022
No answer	5	1.19	

p. 57 (c)

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Table 117

Total Income Per Year by French Census Districts of 1942

	Total	Percent	Port	Minet el Hosn	Zokak el Blat	Bachoura	Saifi	Medawar	Remeil	Achrafieh	Mazra'a	Mouseitbeh	Ras Beirut	Ain el Mreisseh	Tinshack Village	Complete Economic Rejects	Section Unknown
Total	1792	100.00	1	50	70	83	54	66	174	294	350	250	173	60	58	59	50
1 — 1,000	151	8.43	—	4	5	8	3	4	14	25	25	25	10	1	23	1	3
1,001 — 2,000	352	19.64	—	6	17	21	7	14	22	64	70	53	31	9	21	5	12
2,001 — 3,000	334	18.64	—	10	10	14	3	16	36	71	72	46	20	10	11	5	10
3,001 — 4,000	210	11.72	—	3	6	7	8	18	27	37	41	38	15	5	2	5	3
4,001 — 5,000	123	6.86	1	1	8	5	2	5	15	14	30	12	16	2	1	9	2
5,001 — 6,000	134	7.48	—	5	5	7	7	5	15	14	27	18	14	4	—	7	6
6,001 — 7,000	56	3.12	—	1	5	1	5	2	3	9	18	4	6	1	—	—	1
7,001 — 8,000	69	3.85	—	4	1	2	3	1	7	11	14	14	9	1	—	—	2
8,001 — 9,000	35	1.95	—	4	1	2	1	—	6	3	6	5	3	1	—	3	—
9,001 — 10,000	51	2.84	—	—	3	5	—	1	8	7	12	1	3	6	—	3	2
10,001 — 11,000	19	1.06	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	7	3	2	—	—	—
11,001 — 12,000	37	2.06	—	1	1	3	—	1	4	6	5	6	7	2	—	—	1

p. 58(a)

18; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

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19; Churchill 8-5 (1969) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 120

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status since Previous Year

Status compared to last year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1886	100.00	
Improved	238	12.76	.008
Not improved	1613	86.44	.008
Don't know	15	0.80	

Table 121

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Five Years Previously

Status compared to 5 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1796	100.00	
Improved	352	19.60	.009
Not improved	1417	78.90	.009
Don't know	27	1.50	

Table 122

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Ten Years Previously

Status compared to 10 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1781	100.00	
Improvement	374	21.00	.009
No improvement	1366	76.70	.010
Don't know	41	2.30	

25: Warriner S-S (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
Lebanon M51
Syria MD1

crease the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of 'landless' labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 20 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 5 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Ashrafiyeh		Mishrefeh		Kfar Sa'ab (Mish. Irrig.)
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	
Gross Income ..	352	887	218	633	873
Costs	118	247	75	98	248
Rent	—	—	39	304	—
Net Income ..	234	640	84	231	625

[1] [Kfar Sa'ab in the north Lebanon -- Analyst]

LEBANON NEI

Chapter 4

LEBANON

Developments in the Rest of the Second World War

433 439 371 [167] [177] 439 [178] 733 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions. 1/ From early modern times, A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European settlement, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk. It also brought to missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1914, some 330,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,333 a year, of which over half were from Lebanon. In 1913-14, the yearly average rose to 13,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital influx from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in trade. By 1920, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

439 [178] 733 167

During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, the silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and the transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, with cultural further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 18,333 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half were from Lebanon.

● 439 1/ Net emigrant losses to 1920 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of 11 500 per annum. Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1955 per capita losses in a group of villages was 12 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Ralph E. Dumper, Economic Losses and Expenditures in a Rural Agricultural Village, American University, Beirut, 1955). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1955 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which consistently underrates the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $350, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Even the wants of the Lebanese population in Liberia, and over 40 per cent in other, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ E.A. Hyamson (editor), The Economic Resources of Syria (Beirut, 1955), page 18.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breaking of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 30,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of commodity terms. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of frozen and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, increased in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 5,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible] with Lebanese and [illegible].

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Mustafa al Hamly, "Min al khifa ila al alam", in Mahadarat al nadwa (Beirut, 1951).

2/ From 1940 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £76 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £17 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,205 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,277, in 1952 it was 5,725 and in 1953 it was 5,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

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brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Three pipelines have their termini in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1929 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1953. Although the development of Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade, as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 49), per capita income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of 1,036,000 hectares, 373,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,000 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring 34,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

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Table 43. Lebanon: Net National Income, by Industry,[a/]
1948 to 1950
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Sector	1948	1949	1950
Agriculture	168.5	158.8	176.0
Construction	34.8	31.9	41.7
Industry[b/]	133.7	135.5	137.3
Services[c/]	91.4	93.1	100.5
Transport and communications	33.5	35.3	37.7
Real estate[d/]	90.9	93.4	96.0
Government[e/]	63.1	64.6	71.8
Other[f/]	...	...	339.0
Total	...	...	1,000.0[g/]
Index of wholesale prices (1948 = 100)	100	82	76
Cost of living index (1948 = 100)	100	94	87

Source: Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monographs 1 to 7 (Beirut, 1951 to 1954, mimeographed).

a/ All estimates at factor cost, except agricultural income, which is at market prices.

b/ Including public utilities, mining and quarrying.

c/ Including certain service and professional workers and agencies, for example, schools and hospitals, lawyers, physicians and midwives; trade, advertising and welfare agencies; laundries, hotels, restaurants places of entertainment. Excluding government services and domestic services.

d/ Net rent of residential buildings only.

e/ Including municipalities.

f/ Trade, finance and income received from foreign countries. No study of these sectors has been published, and the figure quoted here is provisional.

g/ Provisional estimate.